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calico currency was an impossibility.'[1] The Africans could hardly have resisted the change over to a money economy. The taxation system introduced in 1893 was based on the Governor of Zululand's Proclamation III of 1887, and ruled that a tax defaulter was liable to be conscripted for labour until he had earned the amount of his tax. Coffee estates owned by Whites in the Highlands were at the same time in need of labour.[2] Tax was then taken in kind but it was soon changed to cash as a further inducement to Africans to come on to the labour market. The Africans were forced into the cash economy of the Protectorate even if they were unwilling. The measures were so successful that in 1899 the *Gazette* announced that the labour market in Blantyre was flooded.[3]

Modern Economic Structure

In modern Nyasaland, the wants of the Africans have become even more varied than they were in the earlier days. Most younger men wear European-type clothing and shoes. Many own bicycles and sewing machines. Many houses have glass windows and panelled doors and most of them are furnished with some rough furniture which has been bought from local craftsmen. Many have beds and mosquito nets. Few women cannot boast of enamel dishes to replace their clay pottery or china cups to replace drinking gourds. The food habits of the peoples too have broadened. Most households use sugar these days, and many people drink tea. I should say that all households occasionally buy soap. Certainly all need salt, which formerly was burnt from the saline grass around Lake Shirwa or dissolved out of special soils in Portuguese East Africa. The stock-lists of an Indian-owned village shop in Chiwalo's area and of an African-owned canteen in the same area, which I have set out in Appendix A, indicate the range of the wants of the modern African. It is clear that these wants are over and above food requirements. The people in these tribal areas live primarily on the

[1] *Report of the Consul and Acting Commissioner Sharpe on the Trade and General Condition of the British Central African Protectorate for April 1896 to March 1897.* C. 8458.

[2] See the *B.C.A. Gazette*, iii, 5 (March 1895), and iii, 17 (Sept. 15th, 1896), which print advertisements offering 'native labour arranged for and supplied to plantations at a commission of 7*s.* 6*d.* a head'.

[3] *B.C.A. Gazette*, vi, 6 (June 24th, 1899).

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crops grown in their gardens. For their other wants they need cash, and they obtain it either by the sale of their agricultural produce, by trading with their fellows, or by seeking work either within or outside the area. The sale of agricultural produce is probably the most important. A few Africans earn a small living as blacksmiths, bicycle repairers, diviners and leechers, fish pedlars and tailors. There are some African canteen or small shop owners, but this field is dominated by the Indians, who between them have a few dozen village and roadside stores.

A certain amount of money is sent or brought home by labour migrants. I could not estimate how much this is for each household. It cannot be very high on the average, because not a great proportion is working at labour centres outside the area of study.[1] Within the Territory there are few opportunities of earning wages. In Jalasi's area there are one or two White tobacco estates, which employ at the most a few hundred labourers, and a number of Indian storekeepers who may between them employ a hundred men. Otherwise the Government itself, through the Agriculture Department in particular, may employ a hundred or more labourers. There are more opportunities south of Chikala and in the densely populated Malemia area where a considerable number are employed in the neighbouring township, Zomba, and on the surrounding estates. The cash income per adult, male and female, in the area where this study was made probably does not exceed £40 to £50 per annum, and the Yao rely mainly on the sale of their own produce to earn this amount.

[1] I estimate from genealogies that about 22 per cent of the men over the age of 18 were at labour centres in 1947–8. Table 3 of the 1945 Census shows that, excluding those in the Army, 28 per cent of the men over the age of 18 were away from Liwonde and Fort Johnston districts when the census was taken.